

13 November 1958

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

SUBJECT : Effect of the 1958 Elections on CIA's
Relations with The Congress

1. This memorandum is for information only and is a preliminary analysis of the effect that the Congressional elections of 1958 will have upon CIA. It should be noted that this is being written prior to any indication as to how the parties will divide in setting up the committee structures, and consequently I may have erred on the conservative side in indicating how the Democrats will apportion the committees. The contents of the memorandum have been discussed with the Legislative Counsel.

2. Considering the principal committees with which CIA deals, the following is the status.

a. The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy is composed of 9 Senators and 9 Representatives, and within those groups is divided along party lines. Two of the Senators--Knowland of California and Bricker of Ohio--will not be returning, while 3 Congressmen--Dempsey of New Mexico, Patterson of Connecticut and Jenkins of Ohio--will not be returning. The membership of this Committee is selected by the leaders so it would be difficult to predict who they will choose.

b. On the Senate Armed Services Committee the present division is 8 Democrats and 7 Republicans. All of the Democrats

will be returning to the 86th Congress, but 2 Republicans--Flanders of Vermont and Barrett of Wyoming--will not be returning. Inasmuch as the new division of the Committee will probably be 10 Democrats and 5 Republicans, the 2 new Senators added to the Committee will undoubtedly be Democrats.

c. The House Armed Services Committee is presently composed of 23 Democrats and 16 Republicans. There was a remarkably small turnover on this Committee in the recent elections with no Democrats dropping out and only 3 Republicans--Patterson of Connecticut (5th in seniority), Cunningham of Iowa (6th in seniority), and Devereux of Maryland (9th in seniority). It would appear that on the House Armed Services Committee the new appointments will be Democrats and, in fact, some of the present Republicans might lose their seats on the Committee.

d. The Senate Appropriations Committee is presently composed of 12 Democrats and 11 Republicans. No Democrats were displaced and the 4 Republicans were Knowland of California, Thye of Minnesota, Potter of Michigan and Ives of New York. It would appear that the new appointments would all be Democrats with the adjustment of the Committee strength to something like 16 Democrats and 7 or 8 Republicans.

e. The House Appropriations Committee in the 85th Congress was composed of 29 Democrats and 20 Republicans. One Democrat--Alfred Sieminski of New Jersey, who ranked 19th--will not be returning as he was defeated in the primaries. The 8

Republicans who will not be returning and their rank on the Committee are as follows: Richard Wigglesworth of Massachusetts, 2nd; Ernest Scrivner of Kansas, 8th; Frederic Coudert of New York, 9th; Cliff Clevenger of Ohio, 10th; Earl Wilson of Indiana, 11th; Benjamin James of Pennsylvania, 12th; Edward Miller of Maryland, 14th; and Charles W. Vursell of Illinois, 15th. Of particular note to CIA is the fact that this will move Gerald R. Ford, Jr. of Michigan, who in the 85th Congress ranked 13th, up to be the 7th ranking Republican in the 86th Congress.

f. On the Senate Foreign Relations Committee the division in the 85th Congress was 8 Democrats and 7 Republicans. No Democrats lost. The 2 Republicans who will not be returning are Smith of New Jersey and Knowland of California. Inasmuch as the new allocation on the Committee will probably be 10 Democrats and 5 Republicans, the 2 replacements will undoubtedly be Democrats. Of the Democrats, it is possible that a junior member, like Clair Engle of California, may be placed on the Committee in view of the importance of California politically and because of its interest in foreign relations, particularly in the Far East. Other candidates for this Committee might be Robert Byrd of West Virginia, who served in the 85th Congress on the House Foreign Affairs Committee but has been elected to the Senate for the 86th Congress.

g. The House Foreign Affairs Committee was composed of 17 Democrats and 15 Republicans in the 85th Congress. Three

Democrats will not be returning, including the Chairman of the Committee. These are Gordon of Illinois, 1st; Hays of Arkansas, 6th; and Byrd of West Virginia, 9th. Six Republicans will not be returning. These are Vorys of Ohio, 2nd; Smith of Wisconsin, 4th; LeCompte of Iowa, 9th; Radwan of New York, 10th; Morano of Connecticut, 11th; and Prouty of Vermont, 14th. Inasmuch as Mr. Gordon is not returning to the 86th Congress, Thomas E. Morgan of the 26th District of Pennsylvania will succeed to the Chairmanship of the Committee as a result of his seniority. This will be Mr. Morgan's 8th term as he was elected originally to the 79th Congress on 7 November 1944.

3. As has been pointed out by the press, the new Congress is expected to be more liberal. It is interesting to note that of the 15 new Senators, one (Young) is in his 60's; five are in their 50's (Keating-58, Scott-58, Randolph-56, Prouty-52 and Dodd-51); seven are in their 40's (Moss-47, Engle, Hart and Cannon-46, McGee-43, McCarthy-42 and Byrd-40); and two are in their 30's (Hartke-39 and Williams-38). Thus the average age of the new Senators is 48.7 years--probably the youngest average of any group ever to be elected to the Senate.

4. Analyzing the effect of the elections on the Mansfield Bill, we can note the following. The Mansfield Bill was debated on 9 April 1956 and defeated by a vote of 59 to 27. Of the 86 Senators who voted on the Bill, 27--or nearly 1/3--are no longer in the Senate. Of the 27 who are out, 18 (5 Democrats and 13 Republicans) were among the 59 who voted against the Bill, while

9 (4 Democrats and 5 Republicans) voted for the Bill. In other words, 32% of those who voted against the Bill and 33 1/3% of those who voted for the Bill are out of the Senate.

5. Along strictly party lines, of the 46 Republicans who voted on the Bill, 18 or 44% are out of the Senate, and of the 40 Democrats who voted on the Bill, 9 or 22.5% are out of the Senate. Conversely, 31 Democrats and 28 Republicans who voted on the Bill are still in the Senate. The vote on the Bill along party lines was Republicans - 38 against and 8 for, or 82.6% of the Republicans voting were against the Bill; Democrats - 21 against and 19 for, or 52.5% of the Democrats voting were against the Bill.

6. If we could assume that future votes might follow similar lines and that 4 out of every 5 Republicans would vote against the Bill while the Democrats would split evenly, we might assume that in the 86th Congress a vote on the Mansfield Bill would find 27 Republicans against and 32 Democrats against, for a total of 59 against and 37 for. (This would not take into consideration the 2 new Senators from Alaska.) However, two other factors are very important in this analysis. First, as the following tabulations will show, those favoring the Mansfield Bill on the Democratic side were mainly from what has been called the liberal wing of the party. Inasmuch as a majority of the 13 newly elected Democratic Senators would fall into this category, it is evident that there will be stronger support for the Bill than simple statistics would indicate. But perhaps even more

important is the fact that Senator Mansfield's prestige and following will have increased tremendously since the first debate in 1956, and consequently we should assume that if he brings the Bill to the floor for debate, he will do so assuming that he will get it passed. It will be recalled that at the time of the last debate Senator Mansfield was quoted as having made the statement that he had been taught a lesson by the "pros." We should appreciate that this time, if he brings the Bill to the floor, he will have the "pros" with him.

7. There follows a tabulation of the vote on the Mansfield Bill with an indication as to whether the individual Senators are still in the Congress.

3/
Lyman B. Kirkpatrick
Inspector General

cc: DDCI
DD/C
DD/I
DD/P
DD/S
Legislative Counsel
Col. Grogan

FOR MANSFIELD BILL (27)

Republicans (8) - Democrats (19)

Republicans Out (5)

Barrett
Jenner
McCarthy
Payne
Welker

Democrats Out (4)

Clements
Lehman
Murray
Neely

Republicans Still In (3)

Langer
Mundt
Smith (Maine)

Democrats Still In (15)

Ervin
Fulbright
Gore
Green
Hill
Humphrey
Jackson
Kefauver
Kennedy
Kerr
Mansfield
McNamara
Morse
Neuberger
Pastore

AGAINST MANSFIELD BILL (59)

Republicans (38) - Democrats (21)

Republicans Out (13)

Bender
Bricker
Duff
Flanders
Knowland
Malone
Martin
Millikan
Potter
Purtell
Smith (New Jersey)
Thye
Watkins

Democrats Out (5)

Barkley
Daniel
Laird
Scott
Wofford

Republicans Still In (25)

Aiken
Allott
Beall
Bennett
Bridges
Bush
Butler
Capehart
Carlson
Case
Case
Cotton
Curtis (Nebraska)
Dirksen
Dworshak
Goldwater
Hickenlooper
Hruska
Kuchel
Morton
Saltonstall
Schoeppel
Wiley
Williams
Young

Democrats Still In (16)

Bible
Douglas
Eastland
Ellender
Frear
Hayden
Hennings
Holland
Johnson
Johnston
McClellan
O'Mahoney
Robertson
Russell
Stennis
Symington